



Ka↔Na↔ and Te↔∞E↔ as Personal Pronominal Systems

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ABSTRACT

Kana and Tẹẹ (Ogoni) are closely related, with some degree of mutual intelligibility, though speakers of Tẹẹ claim that the two are distinct languages, often drawing attention to some lexical items which are used Kana but not Tẹẹ (Ladefoged 1995, Anyanwu 2004). In addition to the lexical differences, there are also noticeable differences in the phonological inventories of Kana and Tẹẹ. For instance, Tẹẹ has four phonemic consonants which are not found in Kana. These are the voiceless alveolar nasal /n[∞]/, the voiceless alveolar lateral /l[∞]/ and the voiceless approximants or fricatives /X/ and /©/ (Ladefoged 1995:45). In spite of these noticeable lexical and phonological differences, some speakers of Kana still regard Tẹẹ as a form of Kana. Presently, various aspects of Kana and Tẹẹ are being documented and some research works are being carried out on both Kana and Tẹẹ grammar. The findings from these on-going researches are highlighting the similarities and differences between these two lects. As part of the contribution to the on-going documentation and researches, this paper examines Kana and Tẹẹ personal pronominal systems and has observed that the extent of the close genetic relationship between Kana and Tẹẹ is reflected in the pronominal system of both lects. To this extent, Kana and Tẹẹ personal pronouns do not reveal any considerable variations morphophonemically. The few minor variations observed are tonal and segmental in nature.

INTRODUCTION

Unlike nouns, pronouns belong to the closed class system and they are words which can be used in place of nouns, noun phrases or clauses that have nominal functions. Trask (1993:221) defines a pronoun “as the lexical category, or a member of this category, whose members typically function as noun phrases in isolation, not normally requiring or permitting the presence of determiners or adnominals, and whose members typically have little or no intrinsic meaning or reference” (cf. Crystal 1997). A pronoun is the commonest substitute for the noun or noun phrase. It often refers back to a noun or noun phrase that has been previously mentioned. Pronouns are conventionally divided into several distinct classes including personal pronouns (I, they),

Ka↔Na∃ and Te∃∞E∞∃ as Personal Pronominal Systems

reflexive pronouns (himself), demonstrative pronouns (this), indefinite pronouns (something), interrogative pronouns (who?) and relative pronouns (which)(cf. Ndimele 1996). Cross-linguistically, pronouns have been noted to be characteristically marked by the following features:

- (i) they do not admit determiners
- (ii) they often have an objective case
- (iii) they have person distinction
- (iv) their singular and plural forms are often not related morphologically.

In this paper however, we have examined only the personal pronouns in both Kana and Tẹẹ to ascertain the level of their morphophonemic similarity or other otherwise in order determine to what extent the personal pronouns of both lects will reveal their distinctiveness as different lects. The choice of the personal pronouns for our objective is based on the fact that the personal pronominal system of any language belongs to the closed class which does not have any space program for the borrowing/addition of lexical items. Thus two lects which are closely related will have the tendency of manifesting very similar pronominal systems. Kana and Tẹẹ are two of the five Ogoni group of languages (Ikoro 1990, 1996) (the others being Eleme, Baan and Gokana). Genetically, Tẹẹ and Kana have been classified as a distinct lects within the Kegboid (Ogoni) group of languages (Ikoro 1990) in the Cross River division of the New Benue Congo branch of the Niger Congo family (cf. Faraclas 1989, Ikoro 1994). Kana and Tẹẹ are spoken in the Kana and Tai Local Government Areas respectively in Rivers State, Nigeria.

Kana and Tẹẹ Pronouns

Kana and Tẹẹ have a rich system of personal pronominal forms. The personal pronouns in both lects which, function as subjects fall into two different sets; emphatic (independent) and non-emphatic (dependent), while the reflexive pronouns also reveal an interesting morphological structure. We shall discuss these two types of pronouns one after the other.

Kana and Tẹẹ Personal Pronouns

There are six personal pronouns in both Kana and Tẹẹ and each of these personal pronouns has an obligatory singular-plural number opposition. For Tẹẹ, the three singular pronouns and the first person plural pronoun each, has an independent (emphatic) and dependent (non-emphatic) form. The singular independent pronouns and as well, the first plural independent pronoun are disyllabic, having a V-CV structure. The only exception to this structure is, however, the first person singular independent pronoun which has the structure N-CV.

Similarly, in Kana, the first person emphatic (independent) singular pronoun n↔da has an N-CV syllabic structure, the second person emphatic (independent) singular/plural pronoun and the third person emphatic

(independent) singular pronoun have a disyllabic V-CV structure. The Kana pronouns **a↔ba↔a#lo#** ‘you (pl.)’ and **a↔la#ba#** ‘they’ appear to be compounds and they seem to be derivatives from the non-emphatic (dependent) pronouns **ba↔** ‘they’ (non-emphatic/dependent) and **bi** ‘you (pl)’ (non-emphatic/dependent) respectively. Table (1) shows the personal pronouns in Kana and Tẹẹ.

Table 1: Kana and Tẹẹ Personal Pronouns.

	Emphatic/Independent			Non-Emphatic/Dependent			
	Kana	Tẹẹ	Gloss	Kana	Tẹẹ	Gloss	
First person	Singular	n↔da#	n↔da↔	‘I’	m	m	‘I’
	plural	a#li #	i↔ri ↔	‘we’	i	i	‘we’
Second person	singular	a#lo#	o↔ro↔	‘you(sg)’	o	o	‘you(sg)’
	plural	a↔ba↔a#lo#	bo↔	‘you(pl)’	bi	-	‘you(pl)’
Third person	singular	a#le #	e↔re↔	‘s/he’	a	a	‘s/he’
	plural	a↔la#ba#	ba↔	‘they’	ba	-	‘they’

With the exception of the first person singular non-emphatic (dependent) pronoun which is a syllabic nasal **m**, the other three singular non-emphatic (dependent) pronouns in both Kana and Tẹẹ are monosyllabic vowels. The second and the third person plural non-emphatic (dependent) pronouns are not attested in Tẹẹ. These however, are found in Kana as **bi** ‘you (pl)’ and **ba** ‘they’ respectively. Again, it also observable from the table, that in the majority of cases, the first consonant, C₁ of an emphatic (independent) pronoun in Tẹẹ is always the segment **r**, while in the others the consonants are **d** or **b**. In Kana, the C₁ for most of the (independent) pronouns is always an **l**, the other C₁ consonants being **d** and **b**. In both Kana and Tẹẹ the non-emphatic (dependent) pronouns can only occur as the subject of a verb phrase and never in isolation and their tone in such a position is always low. The independent ones, however, can also be used in answer to a question which translates to ‘**who?**’

The Personal pronouns and Grammatical Categories

The personal pronouns in Kana and Tẹẹ are distinguished from the other types of pronouns because grammatical categories such as *number*, *case* and *person* apply to them. The personal pronouns in these two lects can functions as subjects as well as objects in constructions.

Subjective Case

Here, the personal pronoun functions as the subject of a construction as in (4):

Ka↔Na∃ and Te↔E∞∞∃ as Personal Pronominal Systems

<i>Tẹẹ</i>	<i>Kana</i>
1a (i) n↔da↔/m↔ be#e↑ si↔ du↔ I past go market “I went to the market”	(ii) n↔da#/m↔ we#e↑ ba#e↑ L↔gbọ↑ I past wait L↔gbọ↑ “I waited for L↔gbọ↑”
b (i) o↔ro↑/o↔ be#e↑ si↔ du↔ you past go market “You went to the market”	(ii) a#o#/o↔ we#e↑ ba#e↑ L↔gbọ↑ you past wait L↔gbọ↑ “You waited for L↔gbọ↑”
c (i) ↔re↑/a↔ be#e↑ si↔ du↔ s/he past go market “S/he went to the market”	(ii) a#e#/a↔ we#e↑ ba#e↑ L↔gbọ↑ s/he past wait L↔gbọ↑ “S/he waited for L↔gbọ↑”
d(i) i↔ri↑/i↔ be#e↑ si↔ du↔ L↔gbọ↑ we past go market “We went to the market”	(ii) a#i#/i↔ we#e↑ ba#e↑ L↔gbọ↑ we past wait L↔gbọ↑ “We waited for L↔gbọ↑”
e (i) bo↔/ba↔ be#e↑ si↔ du↔ L↔gbọ↑ you(pl) past go market “You(pl) went to the market”	(ii) a↔ba↑/a#o#/bi↔ we#e↑ ba#e↑ L↔gbọ↑ you(pl) past wait L↔gbọ↑ “You(pl) waited for L↔gbọ↑”
f(i) ba↔ be#e↑ si↔ du↔ L↔gbọ↑ they past go market “They went to the market”	(ii) a↔la#ba#/ba↔ we#e↑ ba#e↑ L↔gbọ↑ they past wait L↔gbọ↑ “They waited for L↔gbọ↑”

Objective Case

This is a form the personal pronoun assumes if it functions as the object of a verb or preposition. Examples are shown below from Kana and Tẹẹ.

<i>Tẹẹ</i>	<i>Kana</i>
2a ne↑ m↔↔ ‘give me’	ne↑ m↔↔ ‘give me’
b. ne↑ i↔ ‘give us’	ne↑ i↔ ‘give us’
c. ne↑ a↔ ‘give you (sg)’	ne↑ a↔ ‘give you (sg)’
d. ne↑ bo↔ ‘give you (pl)’	ne↑ i↔ ‘give you (pl)’
e. ne↑ ye↔ ‘give him/her’	ne↑ ye↔ ‘give him/her’
f. ne↑ wa↔ ‘give them’	ne↑ wa↔ ‘give them’

Possessive Pronouns

The personal possessive pronouns express the notion of ownership. These pronouns can perform the role of determiners when they precede nominal

Ogbonna Anyanwu

elements or when used attributively and can also perform predicative functions if they occur as part of a predicate usually after a linking verb. Both the attributive and predicative functions are shown below.

Attributive Functions

<i>Tẹẹ</i>	<i>Kana</i>
3a. n↔da# nu↔jaŋa↔lu↔ my cloth	n↔da# kaŋ my mother
b. n↔liŋ nu↔jaŋa↔lu↔ ⁻ our cloth	a↔li# kaŋ our mother
c. o↔roŋ nu↔jaŋa↔lu↔ ⁻ your(sg) cloth	a↔lo# kaŋ your(sg) mother
d. bo nu↔jaŋa↔lu↔ your(pl) cloth	a↔ba#a↔lo# kaŋ your(pl) mother
c. e↔reŋ nu↔jaŋa↔lu↔ ⁻ his/her cloth	a↔le# kaŋ his/her mother
d. a↔baŋ nu↔jaŋa↔lu↔ their cloth	a↔baŋaŋa#ba# kaŋ their mother

Predicative Functions

<i>Tẹẹ</i>	<i>Kana</i>
4a. loŋ kpa↔ loŋ n↔daŋ 'the book is mine'	loŋ kpa↔ loŋ n↔da# 'the book is mine'
b. loŋ kpa↔ loŋ n↔liŋ 'the book is ours'	loŋ kpa↔ loŋ a↔li# 'the book is ours'
c. loŋ kpa↔ loŋ o↔roŋ 'the book is yours(sg)'	loŋ kpa↔ loŋ a↔lo# 'the book is yours(sg)'
d. loŋ kpa↔ loŋ bo 'the book is yours(pl)'	loŋ kpa↔ loŋ a↔ba#a↔lo# 'the book is yours(pl)'
e. loŋ kpa↔ loŋ e↔reŋ 'the book is his/hers'	loŋ kpa↔ loŋ a↔le# 'the book is his/hers'
f. loŋ kpa↔ loŋ a↔baŋ 'the book is theirs'	loŋ kpa↔ loŋ a↔la#ba# 'the book is theirs'

Table 2 shows a summary of these categories that are associated with Kana and Tẹẹ personal pronouns.

Table 3: Categories associated with Kana and Tẹ Personal Pronoun.

Person	Number	Case		Subjective		Objective		Possessive	
		Kana	Tẹ	Kana	Tẹ	Determiner Function Kana	Tẹ	Predicative Function Kana	Tẹ
First	Sg.	nda# 'I'	n↔da↔ 'I'	me# 'me'	m↔e↔ 'me'	n↔da# 'my'	n↔da# 'my'	n↔da# 'mine'	n↔da↔ 'mine'
	Pl.	a#li# 'we'	i↔ri↔ 'we'	a#li#(i) 'us'	i 'us'	a↔li# 'our'	n↔li↔ 'our'	a↔li# 'our'	n↔li↔ 'ours'
Second	Sg.	a#lo# 'your'	o↔ro↔ 'your'	a 'you'	a you	a↔lo# 'your'	o↔ro↔ 'your'	a↔lo# 'yours'	o↔ro↔ 'yours'
	Pl.	a↔ba↔a#lo# 'you'	bo↔ 'you'	i 'you'	i 'you'	a↔ba↔a#lo# 'you'	bo↔ 'you'	a↔ba↔a#lo# 'your'	bo↔ you
Third	Sg.	a#le 's/he'	e↔re↔ 's/he'	a#le him/her	a↔le him/her	a↔le his/her	e↔re↔ his/her	a↔le his/hers	e↔re↔ his/hers
	Pl.	a↔la#ba# 'you'	ba↔ 'you'	a↔la#ba 'them'	alaba 'them'	a↔ba↔a↔la#ba# 'their'	a↔ba↔ their	a↔la#ba# 'their'	a↔ba↔ 'their'

Kana and Tẹ Reflexive Pronouns

A reflexive pronoun is a type of pronoun which is co-referential with a noun phrase that bears a certain relationship to it. Again, the table 3 shows the Kana and Tẹ reflexive pronouns.

Table 3: Kana and Tẹ Reflexive Pronouns.

Person	Number	Kana	Tẹ	Gloss
First	Singular	a↔ba↔ - m↔	a↔ba↔ - m↔	'myself'
	Plural	a↔ra↔ - o↔	a↔ba↔ - i↔	'ourselves'
Second	Singular	a↔ba↔ - o↔	a↔ba↔ - o↔	'yourself'
	Plural	a↔ra - o↔	a↔ba↔ - o↔	'yourselves'
Third	Singular	a↔ba↔ - e↔	a↔ba↔ - e↔	'himself/herself'
	Plural	a↔ba↔ - a↔ba↔	a↔ba↔ - a↔ba↔	'themselves'

The Kana and Tẹ reflexive pronouns as can be observed from table (4) are compound forms morphologically, being made up of two elements. The first element is a reflexive marker **a↔ba↔** for all persons in Tẹ and for the first,

second and third person singular as well as the third person plural pronouns in Kana. In Kana however, the reflexive marker for the first and second person plural reflexive pronouns is $a \leftrightarrow ra\uparrow$. The second part of the reflexive pronoun in each case is an appropriate form of a personal (non-emphatic/dependent) pronominal root which may undergo some phonological change.

CONCLUSION

This paper has provided an outline of Kana and Tẹẹ personal pronouns and in so doing we have observed based on the data presented, that Kana and Tẹẹ pronouns do not reveal any considerable variation morphophonemically. However, it must be stated based on our observations that there are minor variations and these are mainly tonal and segmental in nature. The lack of considerable differences in the morphophonemic structure of Kana and Tẹẹ pronouns should be expected given the fact that both lects are genetically related and also, pronouns which belong to the closed class system (whose membership is relatively stable and unchanging) are less vulnerable to morphophonemic processes (cf. Ndimele 1996)

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Ka↔Na∃ and Te∃∞E∞∃ as Personal Pronominal Systems

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